

of women (or of men !) when they indulge in personal small talk. The friends of the moment glow with a sisterly warmth towards each other as they join in "pulling to pieces" the looks or the reputation of one not present, who is sacrificed as a common enemy. In every direction, it seems far easier to love "my neighbour as myself" when we share a common foe.¹

To return to the behaviour of our children : it should now be clear that group *hostility* is closely bound up with the first dawns of group *togetherness*. Through this turning outward of hostility from my fellows within the group to those who are not my fellows, who are outsiders, foreigners, enemies, I am able to love my friends and fellow-members more cordially, more purely and more steadfastly. The enemy is a foil and an assurance to the friend.

At a later point, I shall have to make clear that my account of group hostility as it stands here is too simple. When I come to the discussion of *Guilt and Shame*, I shall try to show that more than a mere *displacement* of one's hostile feelings from friend to enemy is involved. The mechanism of *projection* is also at work. The hated enemy is not only a substitute for the friend ; he is a scapegoat too, a representative of my bad self. *It is he hates my friend, not I.* I hate and condemn *him* for his hate to my friend, and feel justified in doing so by my own loyalty.

To this aspect of group hostility I shall return. Let us now look at the function of this splitting of love and hate in the social development of little children.

The casting forth of hatred and aggression on to outsiders not only brings to those within the group a warm sense of togetherness. It makes possible the active experience of *doing* things together. Egocentric isolation is broken down in action as well as feeling. The members of the group are enabled to follow a common aim. Common habits,

common
standards of judgment and behaviour slowly
set their seal
upon individual wishes and opinions, and a
common history
is built up. In this way, the group gradually
gains some
ascendancy over its individual members,
slowly, assumes
an organisation and wins a measure of
permanence.

¹ The more profound bearing on the problems of
civilisation of these
facts of ambivalence of feeling and the need for the
displacement of
hostility has recently been discussed by Freud in his
*Civilization and
its Discontents*, Hogarth Press, 1930.